Influence of India's "Soft Power" on its Bilateral Relations in South Asia: With Reference to Prime Minister Narendra Modi Period (Since 2014)

A

Synopsis

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Introduction

South Asia is the oldest civilization in the world, which is recognized for its diverse cultural prosperity. South Asia is the cluster of the countries such as Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. South Asia is one of the densely populated regions in world. The countries in the region are politically and economically interdependent. The south Asian states maintain the trade relations and economic bilateral relations with each other for their economic development. That's why they established the organization of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in 1985 for the mutual economic benefits and the cooperation. Though, South Asian states have economic and cultural linkages but despite that South Asian states suffered from the border disputes, ethnic crisis, civil wars, problem of illegal migration, drugs or arms trafficking and the cross border terrorism, which made the region one of the conflict zones and the troubling regions in the world. The incessantly prevailing tensions kept the region quite unstable.

India is the biggest country and holds very strategic and dominating position in the region. India shares common land or water borders with almost all the countries in the region, so India has border issues with most of them. India and Pakistan have prolonged enmity since their independence and the hostility between them also has affected an entire region that increasing the trust deficit in bilateral relations amongst most of the countries. In fact, India's 'Big Brother' posture has always perceived as pressure by the neighboring countries. However, India has always been trying to promote friendships with the neighbors. With the leadership change in India, New Delhi has smartly tried to use its strategy of soft power policy towards the neighboring states to change their perception positively towards India. Besides, cultural aspects, India's democratic values and ideas have always been appreciated and upheld by the entire world and the South Asian countries are also impressed with this. The values of secularism and multiculturalism have influenced the South Asian states. However, given the changing political and geopolitical dimensions in the region, India, through its soft power policy, has been emphasising to safeguard its multiple strategic interests in the region and beyond.

Theoretical Framework

Power is the most controversial and debatable issue in the world politics which defined as the state's capacity to control or influence the other states for achieving the desired outcomes. For **Karl Deutsch**

(The Analysis of International Relations, 1968), “Power is the ability to prevail in conflicts and overcome obstacle.” At the Global stage, each and every state wants to get maximum power to protect its national interest by means of hooks or crooks. Power is both an end and the means in itself in the international politics, which has been seen as an ‘ability of a state to control the behavior of other states in accordance with one’s own will (Kumar, 1967:148).**Robert Dahl** (The Concept of Power, Behavioral Science, 1957) defines “power as a capability of getting others to do something they would not otherwise do.”

The concept of power is as old as its state itself; power has main place and role in formulation of state’s foreign policy. It is considered as a means to achieving something which we want by any kind of means either it is achieved by quality of convincing others or it is based on fear and terror. The idea of power was visible in the writing of Italian thinker **Machiavelli** in ‘The Prince’ (1532). In this book, he considered power as the foundation of the national and international politics and the sole aim of his writing is to provide the maximum power to the King of the state for regulating the strong law and order within a state. **Morgenthau** (Politics among Nations, 1948) defined power as a goal to coordinate the international politics, because according to him, “International politics is the struggle for power and whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim.” Power is the core issue in the theory of Realism in International politics, as the realistic thinkers have focused on power in their respective writings.

However, the theory of Idealism has supported the need of peace and cooperation in the international politics. The idealist thinkers such as **Woodrow Wilson** (Fourteen Points, 1918) and **Bertrand Russell (**Power: A New Social Analysis, 1967) propounded peace is most appropriable aim of the states that can be possible only by the global connections and cooperation by adopting the ideas of democratic means and also suggested that wars or maximization of power further leads to violence and immorality. The idealist thinker **Condorcet** (Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind, 1795) believed in the world system “sans wars, sans inequality and sans tyranny.” The idealists see the future international system free from power politics, immorality and violence.

In the field of International relations, theory of constructivism gives new and different narratives focusing much on social values, norms and identity. The main profounder are the **Alexander Wendt**

(Anarchy Is What States Makes of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics, 1992) and **Nicholas Onuf** (Making sense, Making World's Constructivism in Social Theory and International Relations, 2013). According to them, social norms, identity and the cultural aspects play important role in world politics which are used as the soft power means for developing the cultural and other multi-faceted relations among the nations. Through the soft power, state's identity reach across the world that identifies the cultural prosperity of the states which is required for the building of constructive relations amongst the states.

Further, the theory of liberalism in international relations is also held more important that mainly focuses on the economic bilateral relations with other countries and developed the international cooperation, which is highlighted by **Robert Keohane** and **Joseph Nye** (Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition, 1977). These thinkers propounded the idea of "complex interdependence", in which each of the state is dependent on other states in the special sphere of economy, which can be co-related with the idea of soft power, because this power has quality to develop healthy relations among the states that would be provide the strong bilateral relations among the states. Moreover, the Hegemonic Stability Theory (HST) of International relations is highly connected with the nature of soft power which is developed by the **Robert Keohane** (After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discard in the World Political Economy, 1984) and **Robert Gilpin** (Global Political Economy: Understanding the International Economic Order, 2001). The HST has an ability to shape the international system that refers to the quality of convincing, in which ***all the states willingly accept the values and decisions taken by other states which is as similar as nature of soft power.***

The term "Soft power" is coined by the American scholar **Joseph Nye Jr.** in his book 'Bound to Lead: The changing nature of American Power, 1990'. In this book, he emphasized on the public diplomacy and the soft power. He described the three ways of power by which we can achieve all the things according to our desire, these ways are: 'Coercion' that is work as a stick, second is 'Payments' that is work as a carrot and last is 'Attraction' that is called soft power which includes both the benefits. In terms of power, coercion is the use of military threats and influence is applied as offering economic incentives, and soft power is considered as the ability to co-opt the other states. That's why soft power

is most useful way to get the things done peacefully and willingly because if we have an ability to attract or convince others without any force then it does not need of any carrot and stick policy. Nye further defined soft power in his book "Soft Power: The Means to Success in the World Politics, 2004", that the "Soft power is the ability to get which you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment which included culture, values and foreign policies." (Nye, 2004 pp. X pp.11)

The word soft power has also been used in influencing the public opinion of the society through the political and economic influence. Nye further explained the idea of soft power and said that "Soft power is the ability to attract others through the co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuading and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes." (Nye, 2011 pp.20-21) That's why Soft power is considered as an important power across the world since last few decades as "***winning the peace is harder than winning the war",*** which can be achieved only by the soft power. In 2012, Joseph Nye explained the soft power as 'the best propaganda is not propaganda', because, for the soft power there is no need of any propaganda and strategy.

Though, this idea is given by the American scholar Joseph Nye but there are many scholars who have valuably contributed in the development of soft power. In which some scholars consider soft power as more useful power in world affairs and some are critically evaluated this term and reform the nature of soft power making amendments in the "Nyeian" approach of soft power, because according to them, soft power can be coercive or manipulative. **Janice Bially Mattern** (Why 'Soft Power' Isn't So Soft: Representational Force and the Sociolinguistic Construction of Attraction in World Politics, 2005), **Alexander Vuving** (How soft power works, 2009), **Duvall & Barnet** (Power in International Relations, 2005) are those scholars who have defined the soft power as per their understanding and explained the soft power also in coercive way. But on the other side, **Giulio Gallarotti** (Soft Power: What it is, Why It's Important, and the Conditions under which it can be effectively used, 2011) studied the interaction between hard and soft power and accept soft power as the useful power in world stage. He systematically examined the whole procedure of soft power and according to him, soft power becoming important and the useful power in world affairs, which described as the "prerequisite to target to willingly do what soft state would want them to do, therefore there is minimum frictions and clashes of interest in the procedure of soft power."

Niall Ferguson (Think Again: Power, 2009) described soft power as the cultural power, which has a capacity to convince the behavior of others to achieve which you want. According to him, Soft power is based on the Non-traditional forces like cultural and commercial influence, which can be spread over the world. He studied America's soft power, which has over powered the other states by their brand and life style. The other American scholar, **Joseph Joffe** (The Perils of Power, 2006) examined the threats or perils of soft power. He said that Nye's idea of soft power is based on an appeal and attraction, but it is not compulsory that this power only have a quality to establish their friendly relations with all, because despite that, it cannot be forgotten that soft power is still the power and it can also make enemies.

Furthermore, **Jacques E.C. Hymans** (India's Soft Power and Vulnerability, 2009) critically analyses the aspects of India's soft power. He termed India's soft power as the soft vulnerability and said that since the ancient history, India is popular for its soft power but in contemporary world, India remains playing a minor role in terms of soft power in world politics. He said that through the economic inducements, hard power can be used as the capacity to threat of destruction, while soft power is based on intangible power, which is not properly applied by India in its foreign policy. In fact, there is not even a single country that can survive without the hard power, though more or less, because in the absence of hard power, soft power becomes weak. **Shashi Tharoor** (Indian Strategic Power: "Soft", 2009) argued that "Hard power without soft power stirs up resentments and enmities; soft power without hard power is a confession of weakness" (Tharoor, 2009). This is the reason for every country to have hard power. In fact, the hard power is expensive in terms of both economic strength as well as its use causes violence, fear and also dangerous for the world peace. Therefore, in terms of maintaining cordiality, peace and fearless atmosphere, the soft power can have greater importance and role to play.

Factually, there are three basic elements of soft power that are: Culture which is generally accepted by the people and affects to others, Political Values or its implementation and the Foreign Policy, which is framed by the Government. (Joseph Nye, Soft Power: The Means to Success in the World Politics, 2004) These sources are highly used by India for implication to its soft power that's why India is considered as one of the states which emphasized on this idea to maintain the healthy relations. And

especially present government mainly focuses on the use of soft power for improving its relations with other states. India under the present government led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi has made remarkable efforts in using soft power in its foreign policy. India has highlighted the importance of culture, which promotes the cultural heritage and many foreign visitors are influenced by these things. The Indian soft power includes its diverse culture including religions such as the values of Buddhism, Indian Bollywood, Indian Diaspora, Indian Food, Art, Dance, Music, Yoga, Ayurveda, Fashion, Philosophy, Tourism, Spirituality etc. These aspects would show their cultural heritage in over the world by which many foreign visitors and many states influenced by these aspects. ***(C. Raj Mohan, Modi's World, 2015 & Stephanie and Heng, Diplomacy and Image Building: India Rides on its Soft Power, 2016)***

Statement of the Problem

Soft power is beneficial for the world peace because it is able to create connectivity and cooperation between all the states. Soft power has a capability to shape the priorities of other states according to their own desire which able to achieve the current and relevant goals of the foreign policy. At present time, due to the 'complex interdependence' every state dependent on each other and in this area soft power play as prominent role to establish the strong bilateral relations among the nations. Culture, Religion, and political (democratic) values have high place in India's soft power policy in South Asia. India's initiative to celebrate the "World Yoga Day" is held worldwide and even the regional countries also appreciated it. Yoga is held as India's gift to the world. Bollywood is the convenient tool of soft power and the South Asian states are highly delighted and fascinated for the Indian movies. By and large, India is over focusing on projecting and leveraging soft power that includes music, films, sports, art, culture, ancient wisdom, civilizational values in view of occupying a strategic place at the global platform. As has observed, India's soft power resources have not proven towards its desired outcomes in the region. Even for that matter, India has been considered neither a hard power nor a soft power because of its continuously failing in occupying space in the high tables of the global politics.

However, given the changing dynamics in the South Asian politics because of the increasing influence of China and other major powers in the region, India also pondered on new dimension in its foreign

policy in terms of soft power and there are many factors that can be seen through the prism of soft power, such as humanitarian assistance, financial aids and line of credits. India uses its soft power to safeguard its national interests in the region and also focuses on influencing the neighboring countries perception and attitude towards New Delhi. Therefore, India suffers from the criticism that India makes false promises and do not deliver. Despite India's over emphasis on its Soft power policy implementation faces multiple challenges. India seems to be in difficult situation in fixing its bilateral tensions and other regional challenges and also seems failing in accomplishing its strategic interest in the region. In fact, without hard power that including both military and economy, and even the ability to exercise smart power, soft power alone itself is never been held sufficient to achieve one's foreign policy interests. India's hostile relations with Pakistan and trust deficit with other neighbors have put impediments in the success of its soft power policy in the region.

Review of Literature

- Nye (2004) held Soft Power as a tool to obtain everything in global politics. In this book, he elaborated the idea of soft power in context of American politics. He argued that, soft power is a state's ability to attract others in a positive manner by their Culture, Political Ideals and Policies. According to him, America is the world's largest country that uses the soft power globally. Soft power is more important than hard power because by the soft power, we can establish the peace, which is most important objective of all the states. Although, winning the peace is harder than winning the war and it can only be achieved by soft power that's why many states want to increase their soft power for their success. Actually as per time change, the nature of power is also changing frequently. This is the reason soft power is becoming most effective power in International Politics. He also discussed about the Smart Power, which is neither the hard power nor the soft power while it is the combination of both the powers. In which the cultural values, policies and the military strength has been used according to their interest. The nature of power define the relationships between all the states because if the state use the hard power then it would be create some distances and feeling of insecurity but on the other hand, the soft power creates connectivity between all the states in terms of cooperation and coherence. As has believed, winning the trust and heart have been always important and it can only possible by the soft power.

- **Purushothaman (2010)** argued that, due to the globalization, the perception of power shifting towards soft power. In traditional approach, power occupying its special place in the field of security. But as per time change, the dimension of power became wider in which soft power has successful to create its specific position in international relations. The writer mainly emphasized on India's soft power in terms of its foreign policy. She said that, Culture and Diaspora are the basic source of India's soft power that increased its valuable image in world politics. In the region of South East Asia, India shared its cultural and civilizational linkages that create cordial relations between them. The great advantage of India's soft power is the prosperous history of India that is the outcome of the Indian large Diaspora, Art, Music, Movies and the cultural linkages with the various states since history. In these factors, millions of Indian Diaspora reached over the world and they largely contributed in the field of Indian economy. But in the area of soft power, India's efforts on promoting the Yoga is the perfect use of the implication of its soft power which is exercised by the millions of people over the world. Not even that, the spices and herbs production of India attracted the other states in large scale. Similarly, the company of information technology is widely recognized by most of the states but despite that movies and music have large international market that able to connect the people closer. However, Indian foreign policy and political values also cluster of the soft power. But it also believed that for the implication of soft power, the required use of soft power is also must that gives the better result and provide the identity of India as the producer of smart power.

- **Malone (2011)** addressed the relevant contribution of India regarding to its efforts on soft power. He evaluated the features of Indian foreign policy in special reference of its soft power. According to him, the Indian Diaspora is the biggest tool of soft power that largely influenced the Asian region. Although Diaspora can also create international tensions but generally they contributed in the bilateral and multilateral channels. Similarly, the population of tourists increased frequently between Asia and India. In which Buddhist tourist play a crucial role for increasing tourism in India. Most of the time, India's cultural efficiency and ethical values attract the countries towards India, which build its international credibility. India has huge potentials on the basis of its secular values, democratic values, variety of culture, its food culture and handicraft. This is the reason many foreign visitors travel India and impressed from the Indian culture. In these aspects, cricket has also making healthy relations

between India and other South Asian countries, which helps to contribute in economic growth. But most important, the youth of India has specific role in Asia and there are many skilled workers indulged in Asia on the field of Information technology and the banks or financial companies that provide the strong identity of India on the basis of its youth. In sum, he said that the approaches of India towards developing countries and implication of its soft power mainly based on strength of attraction applied by its cultural heritage and it promotes human right since the Indian independence movement but its approach of bilateral relations with Asia is not sufficient. That's why India needs more attributes of soft power in front of South Asian states for achieving the desired outcomes.

- Blarel (2012) argued that, soft power is very trending power in the global politics and India has potential to develop its soft power on the basis of its food, Bollywood and technology. But despite that, it is quite difficult to define the actual resources of India's soft power because India generally considered soft power as its cultural diplomacy. That's why India is less influential rather than China in context of Asian superpower states. India has a prosperous culture and civilization, which attracts traders and travellers from many decades. In which Buddhism reached from India to China, Japan and South Korea since the ancient times that can be helpful for disseminate the religion and language glory over the world. At present, India offers many substitutes of western cultural ethics, in which film industry or Bollywood is the convenient medium for spread the Indian culture. Similarly, the practice of Yoga accepted as the daily routine exercise over the world, which will be beneficial for human health. As well as the cricket diplomacy is also applied as the soft power which is partially reducing the tensions between India and Pakistan. But one of the most strength of India's soft power is Indian Diaspora who play major role in Indian diplomacy. According to writer, generally economic power evaluated as the hard power but the economic mode can also be interpreted as a soft power, which can be also able to influence others. Although, there are some weaknesses which limits the India's soft power, one is, Indian diplomacy ignores the soft power as an significant tool of state and second is, without the achievement of hard power, soft power cannot be exist. It means soft power is an active element that can be growing with the parallel of hard power in Indian diplomacy. In sum, the Indian government provides potential to promote a brand image of India in abroad that would be helps to India became a superpower country.

- Khobragade (2013) examined the changing shift of hard power to soft power in the special reference of India's foreign policy. At the time of the globalized world, soft power became most successful tool of nation to make the friendly relation with other countries because the tool of hard power is quite expensive and create distances among the states, but except that, the communication, institution diplomacy and the situation of interdependence create harmony among the states and it became more important strategy of state's foreign policy. India included the Culture, Political values, Bollywood, Indian Diaspora and the Indian food as the vital source of their soft power. In these sources, culture provided the base of India's soft power that includes humanity, tolerance, secularism and the unity in diversity. The culture of Buddhism is also influence the many East Asian countries included China and Japan, which is the perfect way to use the soft power. And in other source, political values also play the important role in democratic states which adopted the non-violence, peaceful co-existence, cooperation, socialism, secularism and the unity among the nation which indicates the strength of India's soft power. The Indian Diaspora also contributed in India's soft power not only in economic sector while they have also contributed to spread our culture among the world. But it is also true that, at the time of the threat from enemy state there is also a need of hard power for the national security because soft power is not sufficient capable to do maintain the system itself. And there are many examples, which prove that without hard power, soft power has no success. But due to the shift of the policy, India focused on the cooperation and friendship among the nations, which cannot be done by military strength, while it can be established only by the soft power.

- Tharoor (2013) argued that the idea of soft power is adorable but in India it is less applicable in the system. He described the soft power of India in terms of Indian foreign policy. In this book, he examined the soft power as a new concept of international world, which was developed in the 1990's as an ability to attract others and way to get which we want. In the twenty first century, we can see the maximum use of hard power in world stage but soft power is also relevant for the development of their identity that's why the use of soft power is increased frequently. Actually soft power is not only about the capacity to attract others while it is the commendable efforts to being itself. And for this India practiced different types of culture includes Bollywood, which is reached over the world and these things are not only capable to attract others while it gives us our own identity at the global place. In

ancient time, from Ayurveda to Yoga, India is known for their prosperous culture that includes Bollywood, Bhangra dance, Music, Sculpture, Religion, Literature, Architecture etc. But there are many limitations of soft power in India which shows its failure points. And for this, India is itself responsible for the limitations regarding use of soft power. This is the reason author felt guilty about the presenting importance of India's soft power. He said that, India is not ready for the future to became one of the most popular state for its use of soft power over the world because India generally used its soft power but in limited context. Although for this reason, we cannot ignore the importance of soft power because there are many relevant issues, by which India's soft power can be evaluated and India would be recognized as a prominent state that used the soft power in world politics.

- Thussu (2013) justified the soft power of India in context of the beautiful journey of Buddha to Bollywood. In this book he mainly focused on the implication of soft power in India. He said that, Nye described soft power in the concern of American power so basically soft power is considered as the power of America. But since the ancient history, India applied its soft power in large scale. Although there was no concept of soft power which was developed at that time of history but the practices which was exercised in ancient time was as similar as the nature of soft power. At the time of Buddha, truth and non-violence were considered as the main sources of power which is co-related with the soft power. But in present India, the role of Indian Diaspora contributed in the development of India which considered as the vital source of India's soft power. Indian Diaspora is lived in the abroad but loyal for India that's why they contributed for Indian economic development. And not only the Diaspora even the software which is developed by India is highly attracted to others that's why India entitled as the knowledge superpower. But according to writer, Bollywood is the most relevant and impressive tool of soft power that has a capacity to attract other state's behavior. At present time, the Bollywood includes many Hindi films which are not released only in India while there are several countries in which these movies have been released and globally liked by their audience, which indicates the achievement of Bollywood as the root of India's soft power. In this article, writer mainly emphasized on the Buddhist philosophy and the Bollywood industry which play the crucial role as the means of India's soft power because Bollywood is most popular tool of the entertainment which is very needful

for all the human being, therefore Buddhism and Bollywood is doing incredible role as the India's soft power.

- Mukherji (2015) argued that, soft power is useful for today's world but for India it is quite difficult to implication of soft power in South Asian neighbors due to its border disputes with them. After the end of the cold war, it was very hard to practice the hard power alone at the world platform that's why there was also the need of soft power for improving their relations among the states. This soft power creates the interaction between all the states and tried to develop the community based and people to people conversation, in which the state has minor role to perform. Since the ancient history, India was popular for their culture and civilization, which creates some linkages between the Southern Asian countries. The principle of Buddhism is originated in India which implemented and practiced by the China, Japan or other Asian countries and this implication provides the authenticity of Indian culture across the world. As well as the Indian Premier League and idea of Commonwealth games are also influenced the South Asian countries, which shows that sports are also preferred by India as the main element of the soft power. Apart from these elements, Indian Diaspora and the Indian Food majorly play their role to attract the other countries. India is one of the larger states who released the movies in world platform which promotes the soft power of India in special context of South Asian neighboring states. But for this reason we cannot say that soft power is itself able to achieve the goals of Indian foreign policy. Because India have some border disputes and the ideological clashes within neighbors so for the national security, India also need the hard power for implications of the relations between South Asian countries. But on the basis of present scenario, world shifted towards soft power from the hard power because the approach of hard power is not sufficient to achieve the national goals with the cooperation that's why after 1990's soft power adopted as a smoother practice of the particular state which affect the priority of other nations.

- Raimzhanova (2015) evaluated the power with special reference of Nye's perspective of soft, hard and smart power. In this thesis, he argued that traditionally most of the states use hard power to maintain the national security but in contemporary world it is must that we should use the soft power for those issues which can't be resolved by the military power. Actually the sole aim of this thesis is to describe the concept of power with the brief overview on soft power. Generally in International

relations, power remains their specific position because it is critical issue in political science. But mainly, the concept of power is co-related with the IR theory of Realism. The researcher said that the framework of power which is given by the Joseph Nye presents the different interdisciplinary power. Because according to him, social nature changed according to the situation and due to this, at present time the intangible power like culture, ideology and institutions used at the large scale. Nye differentiate the hard and soft power, in which hard power is based on the carrot and stick theory and soft power is able to set the priorities of others without the use of violence and force. But these powers can be successfully used by the states in a balanced manner between the soft and hard power that is known as the smart power. Actually smart power is more effective and efficient power rather than soft and hard power because it includes the positive side of both the powers. In this power, education is an efficient and impressive source of soft power which is known as the tool of smart power.

- Stephanie &Heng (2016) examined the India's soft power, with special reference to efforts of the present government of India. India recognized for their culture and their civilization since the ancient history and it generally takes initiatives for explore their cultural recognization in world level. At present, the Indian Prime Minister Mr. Narendra Modi took initiatives to extend its diplomacy for improving the state's image. Therefore, soft power is useful for all the states and it became tool of public diplomacy, which has a quality of impressiveness. This is the reason, for implication of this power Mr. Modi visited many foreign states through which they make friendly relations with other states. These visits are contributed to increasing the valuable image of India. These visits are the strategic diplomacy in concern of India's soft power, which promoted the cultural efficiency, economic strength etc. Actually the use of soft power is more difficult rather than hard power. In Indian foreign policy, by the Bollywood films and Yoga, India's soft power has been promoted. Indian Prime Minister Modi is considered as the perfect communicator who presented their strong speech in world platform. He focused on Indian Diaspora, who contributed in the development of Indian economy. And he actively uses the Social Media as a name of soft power, which create the public perception and developed the public transparency. It influenced the youth at large level especially by his selfie and his active use of Twitter. Although in contemporary world, India remains minor role to use of soft power but PM Modi takes many initiatives regarding this to increase India's soft power

especially in the culture and the values, by which he would maintain their friendly relation with other states and tried to provide recognization of India as one of the most popular state in terms of soft power.

- Tandon (2016) evaluated soft power of India under the leadership of Mr. Narendra Modi. In this article she emphasize on the Yoga, Democratic values, Spirituality etc., which developed the importance of soft power in India. The Indian Prime Minister Mr. Narendra Modi visited many countries in his starting year of tenure because foreign trips provide recognization of India at world level and it is also useful for the protection of the sources of energy and raw material. As well as Modi's foreign trips are help to maintain the friendly relations and economic partnerships with the other states. This article is concerned about the concept of India's soft power, which has a capacity to attract others by their democratic values, freedom, equality, morality, Rule of Law and the cultural or linguistic influence etc. that are related with the intangible powers. India's soft power generally considered as the way of promoting recognization of India at global politics. In traditional India, Ayurveda, Yoga was practiced that time, which is accepted by the people also in present world. But at present time the main examples of India's soft power are Bollywood movies, Musical activities and Indian daily soap etc. through which the maximum people has been influenced and attracted towards Indian life style. In the area of soft power, Indian food has popular among the people at global stage. The present government of India strategically focused on these soft power for develop the positive image of India at world politics. Although critics pointed out that, India always taken false promises but failing to fulfil these promises that is the weakest point of India's policy but for this reason we cannot forgot the efforts of India regarding the soft power.

- Acharjee (2017) examined the use of India's soft power in special reference of South Asian countries. He said that South Asian countries have least linkages in their region, due to the problem of border disputes, terrorism, ideological differences, all kinds of trafficking, illegal migration etc. So for that, there is a need to apply the soft power, which helps to create some positive connection between all the states. That's why India always tried to improve its relation with the South Asian neighboring countries by the soft power because only soft power has an ability to maintain the harmonious relations among the states. Although for India, the concept of soft power is not unique because since

the ancient history of India, the existence of soft power can be seems at the large level. At the present time many politicians and scholars used this term desperately. In India's soft power, culture plays an important role for attract the foreign visitors in special context of South Asian region. India is very rich for their culture and civilization by which the large number of foreign travelers, refugees attracted towards India. Similarly, the political values of India also impressed the people because India adopted Multiculturalism, Secularism and Democracy in their Constitution, which provide the right to speech for all the people without any discrimination and this idea promotes unity in diversity. This idea is the role model for all the states because despite the multiculturalism, India maintained the unity in diversity. And also the present government tried to create linkages between Indian overseas for utilize their potential for Indian economic and political development. These are the factors which highly influence the neighboring states in positive manner that's why in world level, it seems the paradigm shift of hard power to the soft power due to the desire of maintain the healthy relations with neighboring countries. Because by the use of soft power strategy, India would be maintain their cooperative relations among the South Asian neighbors.

- Kugiel (2017) argued that the concept of soft power is beneficial for the world peace but it is used as the alternate of hard power not against of it. He evaluated the strategies of India's contemporary foreign policy in special context of India's soft power. In this book he discussed the historical conceptual perspective of the soft power in international relations and analyzed the power in context of India's foreign policy. He described many sources of India's soft power through which India established their healthy relations among the states without the fear and terror. The writer said that, India is one of the states who make useful strategies related with its soft power for achieving their national interest in contemporary world. These strategies are very much effective in world cooperation, in which public diplomacy, economic diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, the foreign aid and relation with its Diaspora are used as the instrument to maintain the country's relations with the other states. And these issues are mainly emphasized by the present government of India, in which the Indian Prime Minister Mr. Narendra Modi used the soft power in different aspects. In the scope of soft power, the main contribution of him is to celebrate the world yoga day, which is very beneficial for all of us and it is the credibility of India which able to attract other's behavior without the use of force.

Although soft power is not used in the replacement of hard power while it is supplement, and at the time of critical situations soft power is not enough to handle the problems. But due to the desire of making strong bilateral relations with other states, soft power applied as the important and useful tool for maintain the world peace.

- Naren, Li &Gary (2017) examined the soft power in various considerations, in which he described the theoretical perspective of soft power in concern of domain the world politics. In the international relations, soft power based on the civic knowledge and virtue which can be deeply understand through the public diplomacy of the states and probably applied by the e-diplomacy. This diplomacy is regulating by the means of social media, embassies, information technology etc. which are contributed in the development of soft power. Similarly, the authors also evaluated the cultural approaches of the soft power that is called its cultural policy that affects the Inter Asian regional politics. Not even culture while technology also influence the public diplomacy related to the soft power. These technologies, digital networks, knowledge transformation are the central approach of the soft power which is coordinated as the soft power politics. This politics influence the whole world, which set the priority of others that is the main reason behind the mobilization of third world states in the developed countries. But at always soft power not getting success in attract the others nations that is the main limitation of the soft power. The authors further explained that India's soft power is based on the Bollywood, which is the main base of the India's soft power and this soft power reached over the world. Actually soft power is a broader concept which are used by the maximum states at present time that's why in their book, the authors discussed soft power of the South East, America, Middle east, Africa, Europe, Central and South Asia, Russia, Bhutan, China, Japan, Korea, Australia etc. through they deeply discussed about the status of soft power in global politics.

- Pande (2017) described the power in context of future outlook. In this book, she evaluated the India's Foreign Policy since Kautilya period to Modi Administration and she highlighted the present government's approach of India towards India's soft power. At present India, the nature of power changed due to the dynamics. In which the present government of India especially focuses on the trade, travel and tourism. The prime minister of India Mr. Narendra Modi developed the economic trade between many countries, by which India will maintain the strong or healthy relation among the

states. In South Asian countries, Modi specifically emphasize on the trade relations for improving its mutual relations among the states. He wanted to establish the regional connectivity that's why by the tourism and traveling he tried to make the cooperative relations with the other states. Actually as like Nehru, The Present Indian Prime Minister Mr. Narendra Modi is very much deliberate about foreign policy. He focused on the Social Media for maintain the public transparency in which, he is active in radio of 'Mann ki baat' and in Social networking site he is very much active in 'Twitter'. He also want to establish the cultural heritage that's why he started to celebrate the world Yoga Day which is not beneficial only for India while it is beneficial for the health of human being in over the world. Basically due to the power dimensions in changing future world, these points created connectivity among the states. In which Indian Diaspora also play the important role, by which this government highlighted the problems faced by them in large level. Actually Modi want to popularized Indian culture by the Religion, Culture, Buddhism, Sufi songs, Hindi language used in Bollywood etc., through they will getting attention from other states. The concept of Make in India is a commendable effort of this government to establish the special status of India in World Politics.

- Yukarve (2017) critically evaluated the soft power as the academic and political approach. This concept popularized among the academics and the politicians since the 1990's when Joseph Nye used this term. In this article, author basically described soft power in the special reference of Turkey. In international relations, academics criticized the soft power on the basis of these points - first, this is hard to measurable, second, this concept is similar like many approaches of international relations and third, it is unclear about the structure. So the main problem of the Nye's perspective of Soft power is not measured in particular parameters because it is not possible that the particular country changes its behavior by influence the others countries. And second thing, the concept of Soft power given by Nye is as similar as the many approaches in international relations. The idea of E.H. Carr is closely related with Nye's concept of Soft power. Carr believed the non-material concept like human psychology or public opinion is very much important, which is accepted in the nature of Soft power. And there is also found similarities between the concept of soft power and the hegemonic theory given by the Gramsci. Because Hegemonic theory examined the role of intellectual who played a specific role in knowledge and virtue, which is also accepted by Nye in the special reference of soft power. And the last one is

Nye focuses on the agency of actors not the structure. So, writer highlighted these limitations of the idea of soft power which cannot justify it as the important tool of any achievement of the state because according to him, it can't be differentiated as a specific form of power.

- Jaishankar (2018) argued that, the concept of soft power is good but India plays its poor performance regarding to its soft power. India is world largest democracy but described as worst use of soft power in world politics. India suffers from its internal problems which create India's negative reputation in world platform. India has poor status on its per capita basis of soft power as compare to developed states and still it plays less contribution in tourism and education. In India, government funding based sectors has bad condition rather than private sectors that's why not even single public sector of India is recognized by other countries. There are several factors which affects the other countries but India itself not applied it in domestic system. One of the main example of it, the culture of Buddhism reached over the world but in India there is minor population of them. Similarly, sometimes India not appreciated the efforts of Indian civilians to explore the implication of soft power that's why they shifted from India to other countries. These are the main reasons which are responsible for its failure of soft power. Although, India has its mixed nature because India extended its soft power capabilities in the culture, values and policy for getting its national interest that's why India has a good track of record of leveraging its soft power because mainly information technology make the country self sufficient. But these factors are not sufficient to create engagement with the world politics. But we can expect that India would be growing its soft power gradually, on the basis of its tourism campaign, celebrating the World yoga day and Buddhist philosophy.

- Khara (2018) analyzed the importance of soft power in the special reference of Globalization and foreign policy of India. The idea of soft power is too much old but on the basis of culture, political worth and the foreign policy, the concept of soft power has been emerged after 1990's. This soft power is based on the potential to influence others. But soft power is not the only base of influence because influence can be also based on hard power by the warning, but soft power is the quality to convince others. This is the reason, soft power is also important in international politics, which attract others without any competition or conflicts. Although India's use of soft power does not seems in large level due to their limitations regarding lack of resources and itself soft power is not sufficient to do all the

work due to the prominent use of hard power because itself soft power is not working without the hard power. In this context there is need to know about the proof to use of soft power in India, which is influenced the decisions of other countries. That's why India is unable to produce its own soft power at the present time. Though, the approach of present government of India is doing remarkable efforts on the values and policies of internal political system of India. Although the process of achieving something expected outcomes is taking long time, but the outcomes which were achieved by the soft power is durable. India also has a military and the economic potential as the capabilities of hard power. But it take their decisions on the bases of diplomacy which shows India is the good example of using smart power, because in India soft and hard both the powers are used. That's why India is considered as the prominent state to use the smart power in global scale.

- Mansbach &Taylor (2018) explained the concept of power as the key issue in global politics. In this book he described the two interrelated topics power and influence. In which sometimes actors conducted wars to gain more power and sometimes it use influence for getting the support of others without any war and violence. Power is central issue to the study of conflicts but in world politics, power is like a weather, which is talked about everyone but very few understand it. In global politics, these actors can use capabilities in different aspects, in which some actors use the power as coercion and rewards, that is called hard power and some actors influence others by their cultural attraction, virtue and ideology that make others priorities, which is known as the soft power. Actually soft power consist the cultural factors which produce prestige of states that's why it influence to other priorities that became a legitimate power, this is the reason, soft power is more effective and durable as compare to hard power. In reality, soft power is closely related to the structural power, which influenced the preferences of the other actors. In these powers, hard power includes coercion as the sticks and rewards as like carrot, which shows the situational nature of power because that is used according to the situation of the state. The hard power and soft power understand by the knowing tangible and intangible capabilities in which, tangible capabilities indicates the nature of hard power and intangible capabilities indicate the nature of soft power. According to him, the elements of power cannot be measured without the capabilities which used by the actors according the interest.

- Mazumdar (2018) evaluated soft power of India in the special context of Modi Administration. In this paper he mainly emphasized on Buddhism, Diaspora and the Yoga. The present Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Narendra Modi doing commendable efforts on the specific area of foreign policy. In this context, he travelled many countries in his first two years, for maintain its healthy relation with the other states. And during his foreign visits, Modi promoted the practices of soft power in global level. Modi focused on three basic factors of soft power which influence the other country's behavior. These factors help to improve its relation with other countries. In soft power, Buddhism is the evidence of the cultural prosperity of India that's why Modi government is very much interested in promoting India's Buddhist heritage that shows its cultural prosperity. This is the reason, Modi administration advertised the India's ancient culture and to increase the awareness among foreign visitors about the Buddhist sites in India. Second is Diaspora which considered as one of the prominent factor of soft power, because Diaspora is fully global in their nature, including the presence of almost every region in world. This government highlighted the importance of Diaspora not only in India's economic development where as they also contributed in the strength of bilateral relation of India. But along the Buddhism and Diaspora, Yoga is also the main factor of soft power which is most famous cultural exports of India. At present time each and every individual taking stress for solving the problems, so to enhance the strength and for peace of mind, Yoga is most popular and relevant activity must be included in daily lives of the individual for the betterment of health. Hence, the Modi administration considered soft power as a vital tool of increasing the popularity of India's foreign policy.

- Singh (2018) argued that, the present global politics cannot be evaluated without the understand power shift, because there are many dimensions of power which is existed in global level. Since ancient history, power is the central point of politics this is the reason every state want to get maximum power for getting authority and prosperity of the nation. In context of global politics, the word power is not sufficient to describe the nature of it because in global scale, power is not all about the political power while it also includes socio-economic and technological power. Since history, power is holding the central position in international politics, which describes as an ability to influence other's behavior in the special context of nation. Though, power is an action done by others according to your interest. In global governance finance, security, knowledge and production are the main

dimensions of power, which plays its specific role but closely impact to each other. In world perspective the nature of power is tangible and intangible, which both have their specific significance and importance. They are categorized as the hard power and soft power. Basically soft power is the ability of the state to influence the other states by their culture, values and foreign policy, which is not only used by the state actors while it also applied by the non state actors, international organizations and the non-governmental organizations. In global perspective by coercion, payment and attraction, we can influence others to get that we wants to achieve. In which hard power includes coercion and payment and soft power is the ability to attract others. It means both are the important way to use power and according to the circumstances every country used the power according to their needs, which is natural not harmful for anyone.

- Benjamin Andreas &Bernhard (2019) examined in this paper that due to the power shifts between established or emerging powers, powers transition theory has been failed because at that time institutional adaptation dependent on both the powers that is hard power and the soft power. Although power shifts theory mainly emphasized on hard power but in institution adaptation, soft power is also important because emerging and established powers justify hard power by the use of soft power in front of their respective people or public. Actually, soft power required for institutional adaptation which includes civil society echo of emerging and established power that's why they said that institutional adaptation cannot be explained only by the hard power. In the global distribution of power, the interaction between hard and soft power shaped discourses on the adaptation of international institutions. Although emerging or emerged power mainly use the hard power but they are dependent also on soft power if they are able to mobilize. Generally hard power is related to the material capabilities which are required for the functioning of international institutions. It is usually required for the threats related to power issues. But in this article the writers strongly claimed that this type of threats also depends on the soft power. Because soft power has an ability to make inspirational argument with want to justify their demands to get the support of civil society. This ability supports does not only concern with the third world states while it have a broad area, in which all kind of actors required soft power in global civil society because soft power gives legitimacy to emerging powers which creates the institutional adaptation for these states due to the legitimate of the public demands.

- LOS (2019) argued that, In International relations, power plays the prominent role for getting anticipated results which we want. And in the field of power, Soft power has specific position in the world politics and India is one of the countries who primarily used their soft power. The standards and values set by India considered as the fundamental instrument of the India's Soft power and India have a greatest quality to use their public diplomacy as a tool of soft power, which builds the positive image and the brand of the country at world forum. This diplomacy involved the modern technologies and the social media, which affected the large number of the audience. India is the big platform in which the large number of population uses twitter, face book, you tubes that popularized India's achievement in the world platform. And to creating public diplomacy, Indian Diaspora having special position in the development of the soft power which justified the influence of soft power in large scale but as compare to other developed countries, India does not achieved extraordinary outcomes. The social, political and education based factors are not so impressive and influential. Although, on the basis of Culture, India took their average position which is not sufficient to justify its soft power that's why in soft power index, India got the 29th position because in the field of technical progress, India does not get the prosperity in higher level. Though, India tried to increase their economy, boost their technology and management but still it remains fail to provide the basic education for the maximum amount of the population. In fact, the government elite groups feel the need of using soft power that's why at the time of the election of 2014, Bhartiya Janta Party demonstrates the manifesto of promoting the soft power in special concern of cultural, spiritual and philosophical aspects through Indian culture will be reached and popular among the nations.

- Ranjan (2019) argued that, in the area of Indian foreign policy, the Modi doctrine is based on its neighborhood first policy but in this doctrine, there is no large difference between previous doctrines. In fact, the present government of India highly moves towards the path of former governments in special context of its South Asia policy. However, the visits of Modi in the neighboring states create some positive changes in the relationship of South Asian nations. In this paper, writer mainly quest for the new factors and the difference of Modi doctrine as compare to other doctrines. The writer categorized the three phase of India's South Asia policy, in which the first phase of India is the compilation of Realism and Idealism, that is known as the Nehruvian phase. The second phase is

based on the daring strategic moves of India towards South Asia for secure the Indian national interest which is led by the Indira doctrine and the last phase is the liberal attitude towards the neighboring countries in general terms of Gujral doctrine that is highly focused on the first Neighborhood policy. But in the leadership of Narendra Modi the South Asian Policy running continuously as per the previous policy but the outcomes India achieved by this is quite different. Though, the approach of the present government towards neighboring states has specific role which is mainly succeed by the visits of present government of India that is able to maintain its cordial relations in South Asia. Hence, the South Asian policies remain same but the implementations of the present government became more successful so in sum, the South Asian policy based on the continuity with some required and successful changes that provide the valuable space of Modi doctrine in regarding to India's foreign policy.

- Yavuzaslan &Cetin (2019) examined the concept and the index of soft power which is formulated over the world. At the field of politics, power policy is the matter of national interest with supplies in the area of domestic, national and international level. But according to present requirements, soft power has been used after the 1990's. Power is the useful tool for achieving the desired goals. Although there are many types of power in international order which categorized as, Military power, Economic power and the Soft power. In which, Military power used the force as a tool which is related to the coercive diplomacy, war and alliance. And in economic power, money making, investment are the tools which promotes to help. And the last one is soft power which includes the values, culture, policies, institution as the tool of soft power that affects the government policies that is based on the public diplomacy and the bilateral and multilateral diplomacy. In this, military power is considered as the hard power. But according to writers, at present world all the countries should use the soft power for creating the agenda in the world politics and to attract the other country's geography, cultural diversity, history, economic strength, social patterns, science, technology infrastructure, arts, values, sports etc., which indicates the strong ability of the states. In the ranking of the soft power index of 2011, United States of America get the highest score as 7.41 and India got the 27th position to use the soft power with the 2.64 score. But on the basis of the ranking of emerging economies, China got the highest position and India get the second position in the survey of 2010. In sum, the global index of

soft power is very important to publish for awaking the present status of soft power through the efforts or strength to in hence the soft power will be evaluated.

Significance of the Study

This study will be important for promoting the relevancy of India's soft power over the world because this power has a capacity to create cordial relations with the nations. This study will also be important for emphasizing the initiatives of India to maintain its healthy relations with Southern Asian neighbors including all the Indian oceanic countries because this research will try to find those elements which justify India's soft power diplomacy towards neighbors. Through this research the utility as a strategic means in achieving the desired foreign policy objectives would be testified in the direction of future strategies. The prime minister of India has smartly been performing his prominent role by applying soft power to strengthen cordial relations with the South Asian states. Given India's adoption of its soft power leverages and potentials in its strategic diplomacy in the region, this research becomes more relevant and significant in terms of policy making, for researcher, analysts and the students of international relations.

Objectives

1. To understand the concept of soft power in foreign policy making
2. To identify India's soft power leverages, potentials and new factors in the policy of soft power
3. To study India's efforts in designing and identifying resources coherent strategies for promoting its soft power.
4. To evaluate effectiveness and influence of soft power on India's bilateral relations in South Asia
5. To analyse the challenges, internal and external, that India faces in the effective functioning of its soft power policy in the region

Hypothesis

1. Soft power is an ability of a state to invite the attraction of the other states.
2. India has optimum soft power leverages in terms of influencing the behavior of South Asian states.
3. India has focused on cultural aspects of its soft power.

4. India is failed in achieving the desired objectives through the soft power policy.
5. India's disputes with Pakistan, trust deficit with the neighbors and China's influence in the region are the main challenges.

Research Methodology

1. **Research Design:** Descriptive and Analytical
2. **Data Collection:** Both the primary and secondary sources of data collection will be used.

- **Primary Sources:** Experts opinions on the research area will be sought. And the government documents will also be used for the study
- **Secondary Sources:** The proposed research is mostly based on secondary sources of data. The secondary sources includes unpublished thesis, Books, Journals (print & online), Magazines, Research Papers, Newspapers, internet websites etc.

Chapterization (Tentative)

1. Introduction
2. Theory of Soft Power in Foreign Policy
3. India's Soft Power Capabilities and the New Factors
4. India's Soft Power Strategies
5. Influence of Soft Power on India's Bilateral Relations in South Asia
6. Challenges and Limitations in India's Soft Power Policy
7. Conclusion

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